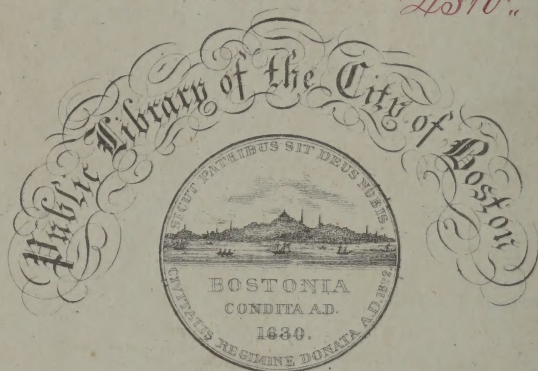


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The State and the Nation—Sacred to Christian Citizens.

A

SERMON

PREACHED IN

ALL SOULS' CHURCH, NEW YORK,

APRIL 21, 1861.

BY

HENRY W. BELLOWS.

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NEW YORK:

JAMES MILLER,

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“And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory.

“And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.” *Luke* xxi. 28.

THERE is something profoundly instructive in the double title which our Saviour bears in the New Testament Scriptures,—Son of Man, and Son of God. In Him are united the interests and the affections of heaven and earth. He is equally the representative of God and man, the first-born of Deity and the only perfect child of Humanity. His double name, too, is expressive of his double office, which is to bless us in this world, while it saves us for another; to exalt us in time, while it prepares us for eternity. Christ, by his life and death, his precepts, example, and inspiration, moves and fashions alike the institutions of society, and the immortal character and destiny of men. In the Church he is the Son of God, with tender human sympathy, winning men's souls to contemplations, hopes, and aspirations above time and sense; in the world, he is the Son of Man, with divine light and spiritual succor, carrying the principles of a heavenly society into the immediate civilization of mankind. He is thus the light of the world, and the bright and morning-star of immortality; the source of progress, improvement, lib-

erty and happiness here, and of peace and joy and sanctity and blessedness hereafter.

We have a dual nature ourselves,—a double life and consciousness corresponding to our Lord's twofold ministry; first, a conscience to be set right towards God, a hope full of immortality to be nursed, to which the Son of God makes his great appeal; and then duties and sympathies towards our fellow-men—offices of immediate urgency and opportunity—to which the Son of Man lends inspiration and guidance. These two sides of our nature are represented in the world by the Church and the State, both sacred and divine institutions: the Church, the home and guardian of our purely spiritual and eternal interests; the State, the home and guardian of our relative, human, and social interests. The Son of God is the head of the Church, the Son of Man the head of the State; and Church and State are spiritually united in his indivisible character and influence. Nothing can be less real than the imaginary separation between Church and State in this country. The visible Church is separated from the visible State, as to official and legal functions; but this exterior divorce was mainly necessary to secure a truer interior union. Civil and spiritual powers, man as a citizen and man as an immortal, were never so intimately blended as in the very origin of our government. Our fathers spurned ecclesiastical control, that they might be more free to worship and serve God; and the use they made of the religious liberty they acquired, was to render the voluntary support of religious institutions and the Church more generous and efficacious than any enforced support of it ever had been or could be.

We are not content that Christ as the Son of God should rule in the Church alone; we look for Him as

the Son of Man to come in the State. We know that these interests are one ; that man as a citizen and as a saint has the same vocation ; that Christ is Son of Man and Son of God ; and that He must come equally in Church and State before his kingdom is complete. When therefore Christ as "the Son of Man" comes in power and great glory, he sheds light, inspiration, and freshness over society ; he invigorates its failing powers, pours a new life into its dull veins, reorganizes its old and effete materials, and changes its fashion into a brighter pattern of morality and justice. When Christ as "the Son of God" comes, he kindles up the altars, revives the devotional life, and quickens the spiritual longings and aspirations of his people. And as there are periods of Christian revival in the Church, so there are periods of Christian revival in the State. They are very unlike in their manifestations, though identical in their origin, and inseparable in their purpose and ultimate influence. When the sense of humanity, the longing to realize ideal justice, to extend the equality of human privileges, to abolish immoral anomalies, to embody in more perfect laws more perfectly kept the maxims and fundamental doctrines of Christ—when philanthropic instincts and aspirations surge in deep, full waves through the heart of a nation or an era, then *the Son of Man* is coming, it may be *in a cloud*, but still *with great power and glory*. Christ is working on the State, the kingdoms of this world are becoming the kingdoms of God's Son ; and blessed is the faith that recognizes the source of this glorious and powerful advent. For, alas, the jealousy of ecclesiastics or Christians of the half-breed, is always misleading those who venerate the Son of God, to deny Him as the Son of Man. They imagine they do Christ honor, by see-

ing only half his work, and recognizing only half his presence! The great human side of his labors, the regeneration of social and civil and political life which he is steadily producing, they disown as if unworthy of, or even inconsistent with, his purely heavenly and spiritual redemption! As if the State were not the body of the Church, which ought to be its soul; its purification and strength and growth, as essentially and vitally connected with the prosperity and life of the Church, as the health of our bodies with the welfare of our spirits. This unhappy alienation of Church and State, of social and religious interests, has usually left the movements of liberty and progress, and the readjustment of society to better social and civil standards, in the hands of the undevout and the unbelieving; as if it were too much to love God and liberty at the same time, or humanity and heaven together; as if philanthropy were the rival instead of the partner of piety, and the State the antagonist, instead of the ally of the Church. Are we never to learn that Christ is equally Son of Man and Son of God, and that he is as jealous of one name as of the other? Is the humanity of our Lord less precious and significant than his divinity? Nay, is life itself not the beginning of immortality; this world the predestined scene of Christ's first triumph; and our ordinary, social, civil, and domestic life the very sphere where his glorious kingdom is to be set up?

I speak of our secular, as distinguished from our future interests, as all comprehended under that one word, *the State*. That is the only grand, venerable, symbolic word that can fitly represent them all. The State—the great common life of a nation, organized in laws, customs, institutions; its total social being incarnate in a political unit, having common organs and

functions; a living body, with a head and a heart, common pulsations, common interests and feelings, with a common consciousness. The State! wound it in any part, and pain is felt in all. Warm it any where, and its whole blood is cheered. Feed it at its head, and its whole body is nourished. The State—it is no abstraction! but a living, breathing reality, with a memory, a consciousness, a sensibility to praise and blame, a conscience, a power to sicken and die, or to convalesce, and grow, and thrive. When Louis XIV. said, “The State—it is I,”—if he meant that the State had a personality like his own, he spoke a great and most pregnant truth. For until we learn to affirm conscience, intellect, obligation, shame, honor, unity of the State as of an individual, we are in a grovelling mechanical humor, which tends all the time to carry us back to the barbarous or savage condition. That old “divinity that doth hedge a king” was the mere reflection of the sanctity that belongs to the State, and only as its great representative was the veneration paid to royalty, most fitly due. The State is indeed divine, as being the great incarnation of a nation’s rights, privileges, honor and life; that to which every man dying, bequeaths all that he cannot carry with him—the State being the heir of all the precious memories of successive generations, fed on their nobility, strong with their good services, rich with their wealth, impregnated with their spirit, and perpetuating in itself the glorious traditions of all its successive generations of faithful children.

Essential to the life and glory of the State, is the sentiment of nationality. The progress of the world has laid in the development of this self-consciousness in peoples. And as great States have become more and more humane, Christian, free; as their national spirit and temper, their constitutions and laws have partaken

more and more of what we love and admire in great Christian characters,—the Son of Man has come in them, with great power and glory. In the old world, however, nationality—always and under all circumstances beautiful and glorious—has been more or less in rivalry with civil liberty. Governments, which properly represent and externalize the national life and spirit, have yet been commonly made strong at the expense of the rights and independence of the people. For, by a noble instinct, people will consent to a great loss of personal liberty, for the sake of national dignity and power. They gladly merge their private rights and privileges in the majesty of the State, and the loyalty found under despotic governments, which are yet true to themselves, is an affecting tribute to the love and pride of country which sweetens even the wrongs and sufferings of the over-governed and over-taxed. That a proud loyalty should belong to England, where such a steady advance in popular rights is always making, does not surprise us. But it is equally true of France, which perhaps even more than England beats with a national pulse and pride, although her government is a usurpation and her emperor a despot. But he has the skill to make France great, feared, loved,—he is true to her national instincts and aspirations, and her people postpone their private rights and longings, to the glory of France. But how sublimely is nationality exhibiting itself in Italy and in Russia—in Italy, where a common language and blood, common hopes and fears and interests, are forcing one circulation through all its lately manacled and paralytic limbs; and a central heart, true to generous ideas and human rights, now sends for the first time for fifteen hundred years, lawful pulsations from the Alps to the Ionian Sea. The icy North is not behind the fervid South in national aspi-

ration. Russia has just achieved undying glory, by an act surpassing even British emancipation in courage and fidelity to conscience. Her splendid enfranchisement of the serfs is perhaps the greatest tribute ever paid by a nation to moral convictions; and the "Son of Man came in great power and glory," when that lately-esteemed barbarous people, in the person of her czar, her princes and nobles, laid down the intoxicating but corrupting and damning pride of *man-owning*, at the feet of a Christian throne. The glorious authority of the State, the worth and dignity of a national character, the possibility of eradicating a moral cancer from the breast of a nation—however near its life—these ideas have been gloriously vindicated for modern times—and for us, especially—in Italy and in Russia, the extremes of Europe.

We have a different equation to solve here, and one on which the attention of the whole world waits with anxiety.

No people can be great, respected, loved, feared, trusted, without nationality; without patriotic devotion and unity, national instincts, and affections; a common government round which they rally, and a common soil, every inch of which is sacred to every citizen. We have in several respects the grandest elements of unity ever possessed by any people; a common language and a common religion; a territory indivisible in natural boundaries; a continent with all the isolation of an island, and with the disadvantageous vastness of its space overcome by the genius of modern locomotive arts. We have the solemn memory of common wars in which one people shed their mingled blood now on Northern and now on Southern soil. Our great names belong to the whole country. There is every reason in the world—one only excepted—why

our American people should be a unit; and the trial now upon us, is whether that one reason shall prevail against all the others.

American nationality has doubtless some obstacles in its way altogether peculiar in the history of civilization. It is an attempt to organize the jealous individualism of democratic freedom—a condition in which personal independence and the private man and local authority claim, and are allowed, the largest liberty—into a consentaneous, harmonious, and powerful nation, able to wield its authority, to symbolize its majesty, to unify its policy through a strong government,—and yet one strong only in the confidence and affections of the people. You cannot have a great nationality, without a strong government. There must be a proper expression and symbolism of the national life in an inviolable national flag, and in trusted and sustained national rulers. But you cannot have a strong government in our circumstances of democratic liberty without the free and full consent of the mass of the people. Can you have that consent in this country? No! says the whole European world. No! says the history of the past. No! says the Southern Confederacy. No! say the governors of the Border States. No! said a week ago some of the leading presses of the North. No! said the fears and misgivings of patriotic souls everywhere. But, thanks be to God, the instincts and affections of the American heart, the latent nationality of the vast majority of its people, have rushed as with the might of a deluge, to drown those fearful Nays, in one sublime affirmation! YEA! YEA! say the people, *we are a nation*. We have a common heart and soul, and are one body. The government (we care not what party has put it there) stands for this nationality—stands for our honor, power, unity, self-respect—stands for

our dignity abroad and our peace and prosperity at home—stands for America! The American flag has our hearts' blood in its ruddy veins; our national heaven opens in its field of blue; and our lives shall set sooner than its stars! And clustering round its standard, flock at once a hundred thousand men—the flower of the land—to maintain in the face of all the world the proud assertion: This American people is not a set of civilized squatters upon a common territory—a school of wriggling fish accidentally caught in one federal net—an aggregation of petty communities, confined in some political kaleidoscope, to which any strong hand at every election may give a shake that alters its whole aspect and identity; but instead of all this, it is *a Nation*, like England, France, Russia, with an organic life and destiny—a pride, a character, a soul, which it will vindicate and uphold so long as it has an ounce of silver in its treasury, or a drop of blood in its veins.

We have long known that our nationality was pronounced enough to make us safe against all foreign foes. Our doubts have been whether our centrifugal forces at home might not prevail over our centripetal; our local interests and passions over our national pride and unity. And certainly, for twenty years, the omens have been dark and discouraging. Our patriotism has been all exhausted in efforts to hang together upon eternal compromises and ever-shifting conditions. Our statesmanship has been a perpetual feat of balancing upon the ever-tightening rope of sectional jealousy and exaction. The *equilibrium*, not the nationality, has been our worship! The States have been stealing away the loyalty due to the nation. Parties have absorbed the pride belonging to the country. National men have been shrinking into petty politicians, and bribery,

corruption, speculation, treason have flourished in the capital.

I did not know—*you* did not know—the cabinet did not know, a single week ago, whether the country had a heart and soul or not. A horrid nightmare of apathy, hesitation, doubt, sat upon the nation's breast, and it looked as if the country might die in this stertorous sleep. But the cracking of that splintered flag-staff broke the spell. The nation woke on Monday morning and shook itself, and brushed away the doubts and difficulties and dissensions which had paralyzed it, as a man clears the sleep from his eyes with the first handful of water he snatches when he wakes; and now there is no more doubt that we are a nation and a government, to be respected at home and abroad, than there is that shameful treason and folly have disgraced a powerful section of the country, and are aiming straight at the national heart.

American nationality is not on trial,—for we may consider it established by the wonderful demonstrations of the past week. But it is important to understand that the contest before us is one in which some long-rooted and deeply-bedded errors fatal to our peace, our national morals, our religion and our power and prosperity, are to be exterminated—it may be with bloody hands.

It is no longer to be said with bated breath only, Freedom is national, Slavery is sectional; that is to be thundered with constitutional cannon upon the deaf and deluded ears of those who have refused to listen to the ballot-box. It is no longer to be allowed that *secession* is, perhaps, the right of disaffected States. That word is to be blotted from our political vocabulary with national scorn; and blacker lines drawn about it than ever fenced in the iniquitous entry of

some subservient legislature, from polluting the records of the State. It is no longer to be admitted that we have a divided sovereignty to distract and neutralize the loyalty of our army and navy and people. There is no more pestilent heresy in the world than that of a double sovereignty. God and mammon, Christ and Belial, may as soon live together as two sovereignties! And our deluded brethren are themselves logically proving this, by giving their sole allegiance to the only sovereign they reverence, their separate States. This wretched fallacy lies at the root of our troubles. We have evaded it, covered it over, coaxed it, temporized with it—but now we have to exterminate it. The supreme, sole undivided sovereignty of the United States is to be finally vindicated, and the nation is not to lay down its arms while a single traitor to the flag remains to be dealt with. It is unfortunate that our local governments are called States. It misleads the people by clothing these admirable organizations with a delusive seeming of sovereignty; but this narrow, selfish, ignorant provincial pride must be permanently humbled, and the wide and noble American patriotism of the Fathers brought back to its original place and dignity.

Nor is it any longer to be admitted that a constitutional majority holds its right to rule by sufferance and dispute. This rebellion is a rebellion against the Ballot-box, the most sacred possession of modern civilization. The ballot-box is more vital to our interests as Americans, than mints and forts and bank-vaults and treasuries and armories. We may more innocently and safely submit to assaults on these, than upon that symbol and instrument of our peaceful liberties. Allow uncertainty, dispute, contempt, armed opposition to hang over its decisions, and our country is lost! No! the ballot-box must be now forever lifted above

the desecration of sectional or party rage and opposition. Its peaceful rights must be sustained with all the force that its loyal supporters can command. A million cartridge-boxes must see that the ballot-box at the end of this struggle is henceforth safe without one musket to protect it.

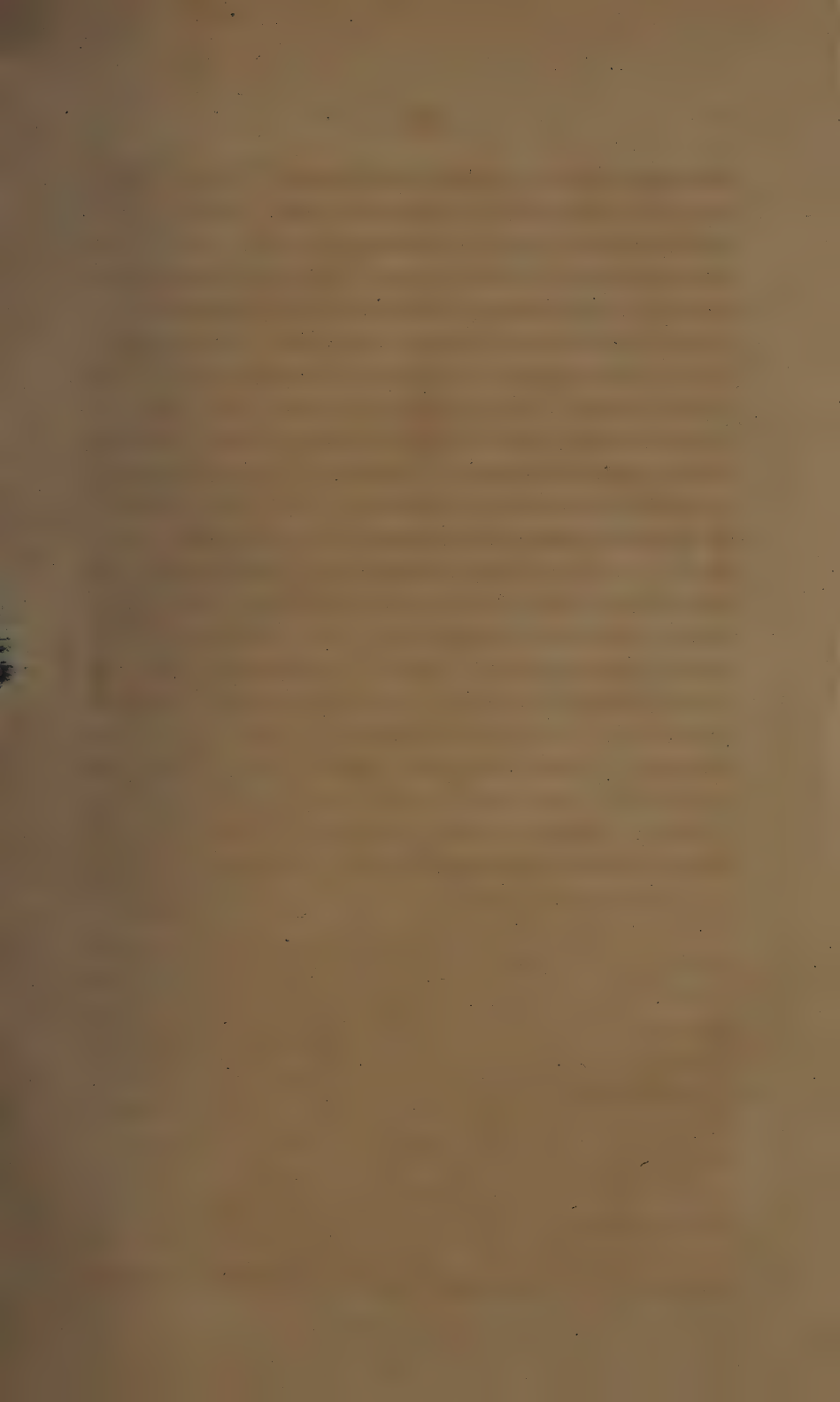
We have, then, a holy war on our hands—a war in defence of the fundamental principles of this government—a war in defence of American Nationality, the Constitution, the Union, the rights of legal majorities, the ballot-box, the law. We must wage it in the name of civilization, morality, and religion, with unflinching earnestness, energy, and self-sacrifice. God knows how we have striven and prayed to avert the awful necessity! But the hour would not be delayed. And no sublimer spectacle has dawned on the world than the sudden dispersion of all partisan feelings, commercial selfishness, and weak irresolution, by the solemn uprising of the ancient spirit of liberty. It has come unexpectedly, but not a minute too soon to save the nation. Another presidential term, under the auspices of the spirit which has prevailed for five and twenty years past, would have put the nation, bound hand and foot, in the toils of a corrupted, insolent, and domineering Slaveocracy. But the nation is aroused! and it must be kept awake. Our present dangers are the penalties of past stupor. This noble patriotism which now dignifies all hearts, must not be suffered to escape in a temporary ebullition. It must be calmed on the surface and deepened at the bottom. It must learn patience, persistence, and gravity. We are providentially called to a conflict more urgent than our first revolution—more perilous and awful. We must not despise our enemies, nor think slightly of their sagacity, their means, or their resolution. They are terribly

in earnest, they are richer than we think, they have long-arranged plans, they have a desperate game to play, they have able, ambitious, and unscrupulous leaders, and are under the sway of local delusions, political fallacies, and military habits and tastes. It is only by the instant rally of the largest force we can muster, and by the immediate exercise of the greatest power we can put forth, by the dropping of every hesitating or half-way policy, by the most direct, aggressive, and overwhelming vindication of all our laws and rights, that we can diminish the effusion of blood, and control within the narrowest limits the horrors and the injuries of Civil War.

This is not a war against the South, or against its institutions, its rights, or its people. It is a war for the South, for the whole people, for the Constitution, and the Union. We see our brethren there under a general madness, ready to fire the Capitol, drawing the sword upon *their* own and *our* own country. We see them ready to commit national suicide, and we rush in to prevent a catastrophe as fatal to them as to us! "We must be cruel, that we may be kind." We must be their enemies for the moment, because we wish to be their permanent friends; and God knows that their distant posterity will bless us for restraining the madness which, if allowed to have its way, would bury the American name, and its liberties and glories, in an ignominious oblivion.

March on, then, ye noble patriots from the loyal States of our sacred Union! Your faces are set towards the grave of Washington, which must never pass into any keeping less dignified than the nation's own. You go to save the Capitol, where the Father of his Country, and Jefferson and the Adamses and Madison and Jackson presided over a common soil with impar-

tial care ; where Marshall and Jay and Story judged the people righteously ; where Gadsden, Pinckney and Livingston, Hamilton and King, and Clay and Webster honored the Union with their fervid devotion ; and where patriotism and wisdom and justice still survive, and seek, with honest impartiality, to maintain and allow the rights and claims of the thirty-four States of the nation. What though your blood has already, on the sacred 19th of April, rebaptized our liberties on the soil of Maryland ? The men of '61 are not more precious nor less brave than those of '76, and Baltimore is as good a place as Lexington to die for one's country ! Go, then ! ye noble sons of Massachusetts and New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, Rhode Island and young Minnesota ! offer your bodies as the first rampart to our invaders. The ranks will rapidly close up behind you—for this is no time for men to hold their lives dear ; no day for cowards, sluggards, or neutrals. The Son of Man bids you “look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.” Your country, mankind, history, and God's holy bar, will bless you for your alacrity, your courage, your fidelity, and your sacrifices.



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THE VALLEY OF DECISION:

A PLEA FOR UNBROKEN FEALTY ON THE PART OF THE LOYAL
STATES TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION, DESPITE
THE OFFENCES OF THE REBEL STATES.

A DISCOURSE,

—GIVEN—

ON OCCASION OF THE NATIONAL FAST,

Sept. 26, 1861,

IN ALL SOULS' CHURCH,

—BY—

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DISCOURSE.

"Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision."—JOEL iii, 14.

THIS is the cry which is now sounding through our plains and mountains, from the St. Johns to the Rio Grande, from the Tortugas to Vancouver's Land? Over the grave of our great Washington, his children are bending with sword and bayonet pointed at each other's breasts. The valley of his pride and affection, that fed his strength and solaced his weakness, that caught his first breath and his last sigh, is become the valley of decision, where "multitudes, multitudes" are seeking by outnumbering each other to prove that "the day of the Lord" is brightening into victory, on the one hand for those who claim a political right to break up the nation it was his glory to found, and on the other hand for those who assert it to be the most urgent and solemn of all duties to maintain with their blood, and at any sacrifice of the blood of those who deny it, the perpetual union and unbroken nationality of these United States.

It is indeed a solemn controversy for us! We cannot too earnestly cry "multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision." We need them there, and if we fail to send them, all our fasting and prayer will not hide from God the hypocrisy of our patriotism! Such a valley of decision as that to which the hosts of loyal and rebellious States are now hurrying, was rarely open before. So great a stake never hung upon so critical a line. Were that valley to witness a decision against us, who can speak the depth of our humiliation, or estimate the sum of our misfortunes? But it will not! "The day of the

Lord is near in the valley of decision," and it will prove how vain are the boasts, how deluded the hopes of those who have exhausted the strength of their loins, almost before we have raised the little finger of our might.

The grounds of this hopefulness I proceed now to state at length. I propose in the present discourse to examine the workings of our institutions in a time of war; to look at the administration, the government and the nation in their several relations to this contest; to discuss incidentally the several policies, which the unavoidable moods of the people have inclined them to adopt; and while explaining the past experiences and accounting for the present tendencies of thought and feeling—to urge a policy more conservative than is just now popular, upon the sober reflection of the nation.

Here is a war going on between—on the one hand—twenty free and loyal States, occupied by over twenty millions of people, rich, educated; more moral and religious than any equal population in the world (which is not saying much by a true standard); accustomed to labor, and possessing vigor and patience; a people loving and revering their institutions, and anxious and willing to defend them: and, on the other hand, ten or eleven rebellious States, occupied by eight millions of people, with little capital and less education, poor schools, an inferior morality, and a more superstitious piety; an agricultural people, cursed with negro slavery, a monotonous industry, and a large class of idle and degraded whites. Without any fair pretension to equality with the great North in commerce, or even in agriculture (as has been abundantly proved), not half equal in population, and almost beneath comparison in any of the arts or sciences, in literature, and especially in the great art of living; this dependent body of States, who looked to us for shoes, hats, cloths, cutlery, salt and hay; and in the reality of whose purpose to go to war with us nobody six months ago of a sensible turn of mind seriously believed; has not only rebelled against that first class power which had the respect and fear of the world—the United States government; but actually maintained its rebellion with increasing energy and success; has beleaguered and endangered the Capitol, which at the moment we speak is threatened by its army; has put

the government to its utmost exertions to defend the dignity of the flag ; has routed us in the first great battle ; has broken our blockade and overrun our domestic sea with privateers ; has extorted the respect of foreign governments, and is not unlikely, in spite of all we can do, to win a pseudo-recognition from England and France ; has created a peace party within our own loyal States ; compelled us to the demeaning necessity of proclaiming martial law in Baltimore and St. Louis, and disposed our indignant and alarmed people to administer lynch-law upon various disloyal presses within our own borders !

What can account for this undesirable state of things ? Is it because the South has a just cause of rebellion and a rightful claim to independence, that her weakness is mightier than our strength ? No ! she herself knows and confesses that the public sentiment of the world is against her, and puts her trust not in her right, but in her will and in her sword. Even those who from jealousy of our undivided power, most desire her independence, have not the impudence to whisper any justification of her course. She is without a respectable defender in the open court of the world. Her best friends abroad dare only by indirection to sustain her cause or justify her sedition. Even their hopes and expectations cannot so far warp their judgment as to put the Southern revolt upon the smallest moral footing. The civilized world knows that it is a conspiracy of ambitious politicians, enraged at the necessary decline of their sectional influence in the republic ; and taking advantage of the sensitiveness, ignorance and animosity of the slave power, to wrest apart a region where they again can rule !—How then is the formidableness and the success of the rebels to be accounted for ?

Certainly not upon any grounds which will be ultimately favorable to their cause, or which will redound to the credit of their civilization. It is indeed the badness of their cause, and their own inferiority in all the constituents of a true civilization, which have made them potent and successful thus far. They are living and fighting from stolen forts and with stolen arms, commanded by oath-breakers and men who were plotting treason while trusted in the most confidential posts in the

government. They owe their advantages chiefly to the tenderness and scrupulosity of the federal government, which most reluctantly credited the wickedness of their intentions, and allowed their treason to flourish in the very face and eyes of an overpowering strength, in hopes it would repent, and never use against such forbearance the power it was suffered to acquire. The love of the Union which pervades the loyal States made them incredulous of any persistent assaults upon it from the slave States. They reckoned alike on their discretion, their patriotism and their morality, and with the greatest difficulty confessed themselves deceived in each. In this very hour it is almost impossible to arouse the North to the full reality of the revolt. It proceeds upon motives and by measures so foreign to the experience, so contrary to the habits and feelings of the loyal States, that a year must yet elapse, in all probability, before any adequate sense of the enormity of the conspiracy will beat its way with cannon and bayonet into the mind of a great, honest and civilized people, accustomed to think that human beings in the nineteenth century are governed by their interests, their consciences and their affections, and not by their spite and their folly.

There are moreover general and universal reasons why the North should prove a blundering and a disappointed antagonist of the South during the first year of the war—reasons most honorable and eloquent; reasons which will turn into arguments and weapons of success, after acting as grounds of weakness and defeat.

On the part of the North this is a war of *principle*: on the part of the South, of pride and policy. Wars of principle are much more difficult to wage with vigor and immediate success than wars of interest or passion. They appeal to a less definite, a more remote, and of course a less popular class of feelings. A war of policy or of passion presents a sharp, crisp cry, easily caught and easily re-echoed. Wars of principle imply persons of principle to conduct them, and methods of principle by which they are pursued. They raise scruples which must be laid, involve a character and conscience which must be respected, and in every way impair at the first, the decisiveness, vigor and promptness which reckless passion and unscrupu-

lous policy know how to use. A ruffian has very much the advantage of a Christian gentleman in a street quarrel.—He has no respect for rights, appearances, or consequences. He loves a brawl, and the better dressed and the more respectable his antagonist, the greater the satisfaction of flinging him into the mud. It is not main strength or superior courage, that gives him his first advantages; but the reluctance which his foe has to quarrel at all; especially to quarrel with a ruffian; and most of all to quarrel in a ruffian way. A war of principle commences reluctantly, with a thousand misgivings of conscience, and ten thousand antipathies of taste, sensibility and affection. It proceeds feebly, because embarrassed with scruples and doubts. It at first only *preaches* war, and attempts to do by words of warning and threatening, or by proclamations, and votes of men and money, what has in the end, after most debilitating delay, to be done with powder and ball. But fairly brought to this, its conscience actually cast into cannon, its convictions fairly sharpened into bayonets, let policy and passion beware, for their day of judgment is at hand!

Again. Wars are inaugurated more slowly, and their earlier measures are more feeble and inadequate, in prosperous, enlightened and highly civilized communities, than in less wealthy, less contented and less developed ones. It is not merely that peace and comfort, justice and mercy diminish the martial spirit of a people, but that a rich and diversified social system has so many interests dependent on the continuance of order and peace—has so much to lose by the most successful war, and so little to gain by it, has so unreservedly accommodated itself to the temperate climate of established law, that it will suffer anything but the loss of less-respect, before committing itself irretrievably to the fearful arbitrament of the sword. There is no comparison between the sacrifices which a prosperous people make on entering on a war, and those required of a people accustomed to have and to expect little.

Without a wide-spread commerce and a diversified trade, with an income derived directly from the soil, and not from stocks and mortgages; with no splendid cities, and little do-

mestic elegance or comfort, what has such a people to dread in war, when compared with a country whose ships dot every sea, whose trade penetrates every portion of the globe, whose wealth is invested in rail-roads and banks, in marine and fire insurance companies, and in the thousand new enterprises which depend on capital for their start, and on peace for their success? It is a fearful thing for a rich and happy and powerful country to go to war! In proportion to its wealth and power will usually be its reluctance; and in proportion to its reluctance will be its indecision, its willingness to suffer many indignities, and to pay with many reverses, for the chance of averting the catastrophe! But, the very wealth and prosperity which makes it slow to anger and forbearing towards provocation, much enduring and even low spirited, must render it tremendously energetic and powerful, when it is fairly aroused to the peril that threatens all its possessions. If it have little to gain by victory it has every thing to lose by defeat. We have only to look at the unpromising way in which English wars commence and the successful way in which they terminate, to understand how a high civilization hesitates and stumbles at the opening of a quarrel, but rallies and crushes everything before it before it is ended.

Again. War is a peculiarly foreign and inconvenient work for a democracy. The distribution of responsibility, the subdivision of labor, the individual independence and privacy of judgment, encouraged and attained under free and popular institutions, are eminently incompatible with the concentration, unanimity, alertness and decision required in the inception and carrying on of a prompt, vigorous and successful war. Freemen have to unlearn their social wisdom, resign their individuality, agglomerate their jealously guarded independencies, and unsay and undo much that they value most in peace, before they are prepared to adopt the measures and methods, the prompt, common, united, comprehensive policy required by war. Consolidation, unlimited confidence, the abandonment of debate, criticism and jealousy of power, disregard of economy, neglect of private interests, wishes and tastes, these, the weaknesses of peace are the sinews of war; these, the common scourges of a monarchy, and most dreaded

by a commonwealth in its pacific state, are the sole safeguards of a republic in its time of war. But when danger and suffering have taught democracies, as in Athens, the necessity of suppressing private opinions for the public good, and sinking private interests in the common welfare, what solidarity of determination and action ever attained by absolutism equals that which is presented by the voluntary consent of the most disintegrate and individual communities, merging their intelligent atoms in a mass, that is determined to have only one will and one way? No class of men in the world are less disposed to become soldiers, or are less easily converted into them, than the best class—those who think, feel and act for themselves; but none are capable of such discipline, courage, and efficiency when brought to the necessity.

Again. The great political maxim of freemen, "*that* government is best which governs least," a maxim never to be enough honored in peace is obliged to be reversed in war, and the period during which the vigor, self-direction and self-protection essential to free institutions in their ordinary and pacific state, are passing back for the uses of war into the shrunken veins of the government, purposely and wisely kept at the lowest point of activity in periods of prosperity, is the weakest moment of a republic. Just how far it is safe and prudent in ordinary times to allow the machinery of government to grow rusty lest it should usurp the offices of liberty by too intrusive an activity, we have no time to consider. On the whole, the rapidity with which our political apparatus has adjusted itself to that for which it was not made, and should not be most valued—a state of war—is favorable to that policy of free institutions which places as little of the life of the people out of their own hands as possible. It is probably better to run the risk of feebleness in possible wars than encounter the certainty of over-government in peace. Important lessons, both of encouragement and warning, are to be learned from our present serious experience in regard to the nature and extent of the government when on a peace footing. But it is important that the strength of our institutions should not be absolutely confounded with the vigor and stability of the federal government. Our principal institutions are municipal, social,

educational and religious; not federal. Our strength as a people, our prosperity and success are not to be sought in the study of either our congress, cabinet, or general government. Let the critic who would understand us, live in our families, travel in our interior, talk with our common people, compare the manners, customs and standards of morals, of living and of intelligence, with those of any people on the earth, and if they prove not immeasurably higher we will confess that our institutions have failed. But because our very local and individual success has weakened in time of peace the importance of the general government, created indifference to political action, and allowed some temporary decay to attack the federal machinery; or because slavery, an evil recognized from the first, has even seriously deranged the workings of the central engine, we are not for a moment, conscious as we are of the grave misfortune and serious peril of such a disorder, to overlook, or allow others to overlook the fact that American institutions are not identical with the mere mechanism of the U. S. Government, and that we, the same people who made it, are fully capable of mending it, and if necessary, of amending it; and that not a jot of our liberty, our intelligence, or our worth are going to disappear with any calamity which may threaten our present federal relations and organization.

So much in explanation of the past of this war; so much in defence of our institutions, on the hypothesis that our federal government has shown itself weak and incompetent to deal with our difficulties in a way to satisfy the expectations of patriots at home and critics abroad; so much even on the supposition that the government breaks down, in favor of the prospect of the nations surviving, and the genuine civilization of the free and loyal States triumphing over the illegitimate civilization of the slave States.

Six weeks ago, we must needs confess, it was natural and necessary to seek encouragement and hope in contemplating the nation, as a power not adequately represented by the government. We did not see our strength, resolution, earnestness and energy represented there. We found ourselves outnumbered in every battle-field, while our own offered regiments were rejected, for reasons we could not then understand. The first great battle, under the general conduct of our great

military chieftain, and the immediate command of a carefully chosen U. S. general, had, unexpectedly to most, gone terribly against us. There was a natural, an almost universal feeling, that our imperfect preparation, our unsuccessful military guidance, our ill-chosen officers, were due to the lack of judgment, energy and statesmanship on the part of the administration, or more charitably, to the essential weakness of the government itself, and its inadequacy to meet so terrible a crisis. In that state of mind, and under what we now believe to be erroneous impressions, we were ready at the North to demand either the re-casting of the administration, or the adoption of a policy which should make the preservation of the Union, the constitution and the laws, secondary to any methods prompted by the right of self-preservation. A conscious ability to maintain the cause of liberty and right, to perpetuate American principles and ideas, made the people terribly impatient of the seeming inability of the government to give effect to their will and expression to their determination. They did not stop to ask themselves what other account might be given of the slowness and the delay at Washington besides incompetency or lack of zeal and energy in the Cabinet, or worse—the failure of the governmental machinery itself, put to this new and tremendous trial. They did not at once appreciate that this war stretches over a wider territory, embraces vaster spaces and more numerous strategical points, calls for a more extensive and efficient locomotive apparatus, and a finer and grander generalship, than anything in the history of modern campaigns; that a commercial and industrial people, who, out of its cities, had absolutely forgotten the use of arms, was suddenly called on to furnish two or three mighty *corps d'armee*, and with a bare handful of educated military men, to extemporize thousands of officers to lead it; that our little army of regulars, accustomed chiefly to the defence of the frontiers against the attacks of savages, afforded but a tiny skeleton on which to clothe a vast national force; that neither in waggons, uniforms and accoutrements, in artillery, or in other weapons, especially after the grand larceny the nation had suffered from the house-breakers who successfully passed themselves off as house-keepers in the late administration,

were we supplied with the means of arming half the patriotism of the North ; and that the Cabinet, in a capital city, stifled in the malaria of the disloyal Potomac, and surrounded in every department with the traitors whom successive Southern administrations had stalled in every crib of the national stable—with spies in every company, at every board, and of all ages and colors, and both sexes, had difficulties to contend with, protean in shape and gigantic in form—difficulties which no energy, zeal or patriotism could deal with at once or decisively—difficulties which only time and patience, and tentative processes could safely and successfully overcome—difficulties which in part the manufacturing resources of the nation must have time to relieve—difficulties in other part of a moral and political kind, felt in their full force only by those directly and immediately responsible for dealing with them, and which it also required time to treat. Nay, the nation itself would not have borne at the start the very measures it afterwards reproachfully demanded from the government. It was not only the border States that were to be humored and conciliated before being constrained and subdued, but a great party at the North, at the outset immensely sore and hostile to the administration, had also to be studied and deferred to, lest the anticipated rupture and division here, on which the South so boldly reckoned, should become disastrous history. The administration could not reward its own partisans with offices, and must suffer their impatient and not unnatural complaints ; it could not boldly express its own anti-slavery policy after the desertion of the Southern senators, representatives and judges made it in some measure the guardian of their unrepresented rights under the constitution. If they had stayed, the administration would have expected them to look out for themselves, while it more freely spoke the mind of the majority that elected it. But so long as the theory of the government is that the South is not a belligerent but a rebel ; that this is not war, but revolt ; that our military force is a vast *posse comitatus* and not an ordinary army, it is bound to acknowledge that the Rebel States are still under the constitution, and though to be treated as criminals, are still entitled to the rights of citizens.

All these difficulties, when properly considered, especially when they are understood as they only can be, when the secret history of this war is written, will, in our judgment, show that the administration has put forth its utmost exertions, and exhibited an alacrity and administrative ability which entitle it to the confidence and the gratitude of the nation. Undoubtedly, the government of the United States must, upon the very theory of it, be usually far behind the nation in power, in zeal, in energy. We keep it there by the principled smallness of our army and navy, by the untempting pettiness of our governmental salaries, and by the natural and proper jealousy with which our towns, counties and States retain all the local authority which can be saved from delegation to the central power. It is the glory, beauty and success of our American system. Long may this policy continue to enjoy the confidence and affection of the people! Yet it is simply impossible that the army and navy we know to be adequate to our ordinary condition, or the departments and officials equal to our usual wants, should at once be competent to deal with such a state of affairs as the last six months has presented.—But ought we to be always prepared for a vast civil war, such as can only occur once in a century or two? Should we imitate those foreign nations that emulate each other in Cherbourg and Portsmouth, Dover and Calais; and in great standing armies, such as France, Austria, Prussia, Russia and England maintain? No! the theory of our government is, that the people, if rendered free, intelligent and happy, will on emergency, through the spontaneous exercise of their liberality, versatility and patriotism, supply speedily the lack of preparation in the government; and after briefly suffering the inevitable consequences of a small governmental apparatus, rapidly swell the military and all the other resources of the government to an extent sufficient to cope with any enemy. We expend on the nation, we entrust to the nation, we rely upon the nation; where other people expend upon, entrust to and rely upon the government. Our preparation for war is, in the main, the education of the people in the spirit of liberty; in the use and enjoyment of freedom, in the exercise of all their rights and all their powers; and in the wealth, skill, versatili-

ty, talent, independence and patriotism which such institutions create, we expect to find the spirit and the will, the ability and the genius, to make a mighty navy and army, and a mighty government too, if not in a month or six months, yet soon enough to protect ourselves from the last consequences of foreign insult or domestic treason, and to punish with ever memorable retribution those who presume upon our peaceful habits, and during their short successes dare to taunt our un-military ways.

We have an illustration of the rapidity and success with which the life, energy and genius of the nation, usually lodged in its limbs, flows to the governmental heart, in the extraordinary rapidity with which our people have already converted themselves—against all their tastes, habits and antecedents—into a great military power! Unaccustomed to arms, unused to subordination, jealous of military authority; little interested even in federal movements; strongly individual, and most reluctant to merge self-government in routine and machinery; well-fed, well-clothed, and in easy and happy circumstances at home, our people have resisted every previous habit, overcome every natural taste, in the ardor of their patriotism, and made themselves by a rapid and complete transformation, a nation of soldiers. Yes, of soldiers! and such soldiers, we verily believe, as the world never saw! Military education and martial habits and training, are important things, but no free nation can depend upon them for its protection against either domestic or foreign foes, when either rises into magnitude. Military establishments and standing armies belong to aristocratic and unpopular forms of government. The militia and the volunteer force are the grand defence of democratic institutions. A government resting on the will of the people must trust itself to the protection of the people, who *will* themselves into soldiers, when their liberties are threatened. This is a volunteer government; a nation of volunteers; and it must be protected in the last extremity, by a volunteer soldiery. Volunteer officers leading volunteer ranks, will outdo in the end, either its militia or its regular army. And great as this mystery may be to other nations, or to merely military men, it is no mystery to those who know that affection, intelli-

gence, and a direct stake in the conflict supply qualities which are more than a match for experience, drill and professional knowledge; while they create an aptitude for receiving these, which enables a few months to do, with such a people, the work of years in respect of military education. The efficient leaders in this war will prove to be not purely military men, but men educated both in civil and in military life; men who early trained in the science of war, have passed the chief period of their lives in the active duties of civilians. The sphere of a military man in our country in time of peace is so contracted, that let his genius be what it may, he cannot but shrink in course of years in all the proportions which fit him for large practical views and operations, even of a military kind. The exceptions are of those men who have been kept by the government busy at large public works; thus bringing them into various associations with civilians, and accustoming them to large and complicated affairs, both monetary and administrative. Such a man is the Quarter-master General Meigs, who could not be surpassed by any civilian in competency for his post; one of the most exacting in the army or the government. The real life, talent and energy of the nation must find its way into the army and navy before the government can do what the country demands. And they are passing there just as rapidly as a proper, decent and necessary regard for forms and vested rights, and natural and educated expectations will permit. Who would not despise a government that without first testing the competency of its regular officers, crowded civilians over their heads; or without giving age and rank its opportunity, hastily overrode both, to satisfy its impatience for energy and success?

Position, expectation, rank have their rights, and they are to be respected. They must at first be trusted and followed. When they come short of the case, they must be superseded. And in a war like this, and on the scale of this, *competency*, and competency alone, comes very rapidly to be the profound necessity which both people and government consider. He who watches the new appointments and the new orderings—who notices who are at the chief posts of danger and in the places of highest command, will see that the administration, without

undignified haste or unfeeling neglect, is placing the right men in the right places ; mingling the claims of civil and administrative power with those of military experience ; lifting volunteers according to their capacity and genius to their proper height ; placing—a glorious augury—Dupont and Davis, and Rogers and Porter in one fleet ; and men like McClellan and Burnside, and Banks and Dix, and Fremont and Sigel and Rosecrans—all civilians as much as soldiers—all with hearts full of the freshest life-blood of our energetic, wide and deep national life, at the head of our several columns.

We are neither the apologists for, nor the eulogists of, the administration, considered as a republican administration.—Thank God we have risen as a people above all party considerations. But no one can during these last months have passed much time at the seat of government, and enjoyed more than common opportunities to understand the working of things, without feeling it to be a duty to advocate the hearty and trustful support of the administration, simply because it is the government ; and because it has done all that could be reasonably expected under the circumstances and in the difficulties amid which it has been struggling.

Moreover, it seems important to urge, that while this is a people's war, to be carried on by the generous sacrifices of the people, and under the leadings of the popular will properly expressed, it is not now, whatever it may have threatened to become—whatever our panic fears may at one time have led us almost to hope it would be made—a national revolution, through which daily experience was to be our only guide ; a war which the newspapers or the pulpit, or the popular orators were to carry on, under the inspiration of humanity, or piety, or patriotism. Had the government broken down instead of strengthening every day—had it continued, as at one time it was feared it might do, to lose, however unjustly, the confidence of the nation—had the peril of invasion of our capital from our rebel enemy increased, then we might have been obliged to say, “the law of self-preservation is the first law of every nation. We will no longer vainly seek to save ourselves by legal or constitutional methods. The life of the country is threatened—aye, is in imminent, urgent danger. We

demand new leaders, a new policy, a total disregard of all past agreements, compromises and pledges. We will cut away the constitution, or anything else to save the national ship from foundering. If slavery is the assassin of the nation, shoot it down without mercy! If we must exterminate our enemy, or be exterminated by him, let us not be chary about our weapons, but seize the first and the heaviest that come to hand! Let us begin with declaring emancipation in the border States, and write as we advance, FREEDOM TO THE SLAVE on every banner.

Who can deny the thrill of satisfaction that such language sent and still sends to the heart; or does not impulsively exclaim that it would pay for almost every other misfortune to rid the nation of that shameful curse? Doubtless there were many among the best and purest in the land, who were quite reconciled to the alleged inability of the government to protect itself without adopting a policy as near to revolution as possible, because they deemed, in all probability, that would free the slave, whatever other trouble it might bring on the nation.

But on cooler reflection, is there not much to chasten these sentiments and give pause to the policy they would inspire? The government has been compelled already, for its own salvation and for the protection of the nation, to transcend many laws; to assume many illegal responsibilities; to use much martial law and to violate some of the most cherished sanctities of the constitution. It has, however, evidently most reluctantly, most cautiously and with the profoundest regret, seen itself driven to this course. It must very well know that only the most desperate necessity could justify it; and that after the necessity had passed by, many, underrating, or forgetting it, would hold the government to a very jealous account for yielding to it. But with a conscience, which the memory of their sacred oaths of office must have constantly invigorated, the government has continually sought to confine itself within the channels of its legitimate functions and powers. And as it gains strength and more ability to control the rebellion, it shows a still greater sensibility to its oaths, a more anxious disposition to use as few of the rights of revolution, or the legalized ille-

galities of martial law, as the most strenuous employment of its normal powers can make possible.

And it is to this policy, unpopular because seemingly postponing the downfall of slavery; unpopular, because not in the high enthusiastic vein of mere moralists or pietists; unpopular, because so easily stigmatized as temporizing and half-way, that in our sober and religious judgment, the good sense, the loyalty, and the piety of the nation ought from this time forth to lend its trustful and complete support.

We are bound to uphold the government, the constitution and the laws, or to pronounce them annulled by revolution. If we are not prepared for revolution (and God knows we have no moral right to proceed to that, except under the direst necessity, to which no decent pretence can now be made), we are bound to abide, we do not say not by the policy of the administration, but by the policy of the constitution itself; and that policy forbids us to deal with slavery, under present circumstances, otherwise than as the constitution allows. We have boasted that this war was not a war upon slavery, though it has been created by slavery; not a war upon the South, though it has been brought about by the South. Let us make good our boast. If we are a government, and mean to abide by the government—if we are a nation and mean to abide by our antecedents as a nation, let us not weakly own that our constitution and our Union are failures; that our fathers made a fabric that would not stand a century; or that the one great but inevitable evil accepted by them, and woven in as a dark thread in our otherwise unshaded fabric of political life, we cannot now ravel out by patent constitutional ways, but must tear the whole warp and woof in shreds to pluck it out of our garments.

We little know the terrible consequences of even the most moral and virtuous anarchy; of breaking up a government and a constitution even for the most serious and disinterested ends. Sooner or later indeed, we shall have to pay heavily for the necessary wounds given to law and constitutional liberty, by the exigencies of this rebellion. Revolt on one side tends to produce tyranny on the other; the absurd claims of State sovereignty, to excuse or even make indispensable a dangerous

excess of federal power. The conveniences of martial law, slowly nurse military dictatorships. History teaches us that the despotism of the sword is something that grows from very innocent beginnings. It is instructive and it is alarming to see how those who have been the friends of the largest liberty and the greatest personal independence, now impetuously favor centralization, dictatorship, irresponsible and illegal power, if it only serve their immediate purpose. They see no danger in arresting citizens on mere suspicion, in quenching unpopular and unpatriotic presses, in taking any amount of unconstitutional liberty with State or private rights, if only the rebellion is more quickly put down, and slavery more rapidly got rid of. We allow, for we feel, that this is all very pleasant now. It meets our wishes, it has our cordial sympathy. But we confess that we dread the direction in which these things point. We know whither they have gone in other rebellions—how bitter the fruits such seed have borne! and therefore we warn the country it is time to return as swiftly as possible to the normal law; to stick by the constitution, and to sustain the government most heartily just where we see it most scrupulous of law, and most tender of all the rights of all the people. To risk our constitution and our union, our historic life and national identity, even to get rid at a blow, of slavery, is what only fanatics and reckless enthusiasts would dare to propose or could hope would succeed. But revolution would not rid us of slavery; it would merely change its form and leave us the refuse of a race of negro serfs, to suffer in unspeakable ways from their own ignorance and inaptitude to self-protection, after deluging the soil of the South with mingled streams of Saxon and African blood.

Riddance of slavery is the longing of every true American heart; but violent, unmethodized, rapid emancipation would be the gravest wrong we could do the slave. We have no right to injure him so fatally in order to clear our skirts from the stain of slavery. We are bound as a nation to set him free; but in ways safe, favorable and just for him. And if this war be vigorously carried on by the government, with the cordial and unlimited support of the people, but upon constitutional principles—with the smallest possible violence to

law, and with the greatest tenderness to our political obligations, we shall in God's good providence do more to break the power of slavery, and to prepare for the safe and rapid extinction of it, than we could do by a dozen revolutions!

Already the blockade is proving to England that her prosperity is not dependent on the great American product of slave labor. If she can do without the cotton crop of the South for one year, she can do without it forever—and she is doing without it. Every coat in England, it is said, is worn in succession by three persons in descending rank, and in America by two. If in each country it can be made, however tattered and torn, to cover one more back, and it can—England can do, and the North can do, without this year's yield of cotton! Both countries are doing without it; expect to do without it, and are both doing well! England is cool and collected, and has not the feeblest intention to break the blockade. Her statesmen see indeed that the blockade is breaking England's galling chain of dependence on Southern cotton, and that now is the chance, never again so clear, of creating by the stimulus of high prices new sources of cotton supply, and so changing the whole direction and relations of that enormous trade. Other fibres too are coming rapidly into the field of competition.—Distant New Zealand offers a reward of £4,000 for a method of utilizing her flax. Tasmania is alive with industry and zeal in the development of this rival for the throne, where bastard cotton for one generation sat undisputed king, and thought himself hereditary lord? Our own country is rapidly discovering that flax is as cheap as cotton, and for many common purposes better. But whether this new fibre, the fruit of free labor, is to hold the world by as strong a cord as cotton, or no, matters not. The prestige of cotton, and the profit and necessity of slavery, is gone with the grand discovery that neither English order and a contented factory population there—nor Northern prosperity and commerce are to be smothered in a single cotton crop, however stringently held at home by a people who meanwhile strain their ears in vain for the welcome sounds of chartist and hungry riot in the streets of Manchester, and their eyes in vain for the predicted prospect of surging flames from the roofs and bloody gutters in the marble

palace streets of mob-ruled and desolated New York. That old bugbear is vanished. England is prosperous without our cotton. The North is essentially whole and sound and flourishing though the Southern trade is dead. The war which is costing the South the loss of all it has—the destruction of its whole commerce, the depreciation of its slave property, the ruin of its financial system—is not harming the loyal States to any considerable degree. If we except the missing industry of the men in the field, which is a loss of \$150,000 a day, we hardly see that we are really losing anything beside. We are saving probably a million a day by our economies and non-importations. We are beginning to stimulate our own manufacturing industry greatly. We are expending our out-goes at home upon the nation itself; taking money in vast sums from one pocket to put it in the other. Our governmental expenses flow round in a steady eddy, which may, in fifty millions at a time, safely reach five hundred millions before it will seriously derange our finances. So long as hardly a dollar gets beyond Sandy Hook, what matters our national debt. Is it anything but a change in the form of our investments?

We have seen the worst already, whether in the field or in trade, and may reasonably expect early improvement in every form of business. And the best of all is that the rebel and slave States, while ruining themselves as slave-holders by forcing the world to learn its independence of cotton, are themselves, by the necessary experiences of their insulation, developing forms of industry and unearthing buried resources, and acquiring habits of unavoidable toil, which will, if the war continues two years, plant among them a wholly new conception of the dignity of work; raise the mean whites into formidable competition with the blacks in the field of labor; break up the lazy sleep of the people; diversify the monotonous industry of the region; make slavery unprofitable and unpopular, and open the road for emancipation on easy and acceptable terms, which they will not improbably propose and we can accept and favor. It is on purely economical accounts not desirable that the war should be short, especially if to make it short it must be revolutionary.

It will be equally good for the North and the South, to take

time to allow the principles of the constitution to work out their penalties as well as their blessings. To put down this rebellion, constitutionally, is to put down slavery, in the only safe and effectual way. To force emancipation—to break the Union and the constitution to free the slave—will be to defeat our national destiny and not accomplish any real emancipation for the slave either. His chain must be loosened link by link; with every rivet taken out, a habit of self-reliance must be put in. He must find a varied industry about him; he must see white men laboring with him; he must get a very different idea of what it is to be free, from what the knowledge of his idle, or imperious master gives him, before he can be safely trusted to himself. Make slavery unprofitable; create and develop new industry on its old field; introduce a new population of immigrants from the North, already there as soldiers, and many of them predestined to stay; let the process going on in Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, creep gradually down to the Gulf; offer a moderate premium for every slave set free; induce by purchase the border States to become wholly free States, and the work is done! The slaves would pass rapidly, though gradually, over into free laborers, without losing their habits of industry; they would still stick to the warm soil they love; the rapid increase of a white population would make them no longer an element of danger at home. Colonization would be favored at the South; the now unnatural rate of their increase in the brutal condition of slavery, would cease; many would go to Central America; many to Africa; many would take the place of household servants at the North and West, pushing our foreign white population into better and finer spheres of labor, and two generations would see this dreadful incubus safely lifted from the land, without one break in the constitution or one flaw in the Union.

The general tenor and object of these reflections must have made themselves very apparent. Against certain nascent tendencies and vague yet powerful dispositions of the public mind to fall back in our national difficulties upon first principles and ideal or abstract aspirations, which clothed, now in the garb of religion and now of philanthropy, are never-

theless really revolutionary and anarchical, however single-hearted and spiritually attractive, we urge, from deep moral convictions, fortified by the lessons of history and the warnings of common sense, the strict adherence of the nation to its nationality ; of the people to the constitution ; of the States to the Union ; of all to the laws.

We are Americans—United States men ! Our country has had a history. Its peculiar life was hid in the special circumstances that gave it being. It came into the world with pangs and groans, bearing in its body the elements of joy and sorrow, of trial and success. It became *itself*, and not another nation, because of peculiarities in the circumstances that shaped it. Its misfortunes, its weaknesses, its difficulties, were from the first, as much a part of its individuality as its advantages and facilities. It has owed its drawbacks to causes which in other respects have been its chariot wheels. Like the original curse of the ground, which has been, if the sorrow, also the making of the world ; so the trials and agitations which the providential elements of discord and mortification in our national life and constitution have been to this country, have proved also its grand sources of political discipline and national education. The characteristic features, the providential individuality of our country are due to those circumstances, whether of advantage or disadvantage, which make it just what it is. This nationality, cost us what sorrow or even mortification it may in some aspects, is still ours. Our constitutional birth-marks are upon us, and though spots in themselves, they are not the less significant, identifying, and for the sake of the precious body in which they inhere, to a certain degree sacred. Like the misshapen foot of a child, which makes it dearer to its mother than its well-favored brothers, we accept the original, in-born defects of the constitution with filial tenderness, hoping the nation will outgrow them, but with no willingness to cut them out at the risk of its life. Our failings, our weaknesses are our own ; they are to be struggled with, overcome, converted into graces, but they are not to be self-righteously disowned, nor thrown in a heap upon a section of the land, to rid the residue of their curse.

What trials and defects, what hereditary weakness and sin

God has permitted to inhere in our national constitution, let us accept with humble submission to his will, and seek by fidelity to our fathers, gratitude for their work and devotion to their plan, to convert into ultimate sources of glory to the nation.

No meanness can be greater than that of refusing to bear each man his own part in the painful responsibilities of the national constitutional misfortunes, after enjoying in so large a degree its blessings. Like Pilate, we may wash our hands and be no cleaner of crime. No! America, our own imperfect, faulty, sin-stricken, yet also strength-abounding, happy and privileged country, is our own in every part. With all her sins and her graces, her curses and her blessings, she is our own dear land! Her history—alike in its shadows and its lights—in its ill-report and its good-report—is more precious to us than any history in the world; and with all its defects, nobler and better than any other! We must therefore reverence our boundaries and maintain them; our constitution and uphold it; our union and preserve it! Nay, we must work out our salvation, with fear and trembling, from the very circumstances and in the very lot in which it is appointed us to be a nation. It is this special nation, and not some other, that we are to perpetuate. It is this very country, and not some other, that we are to save. It is this sacred constitution of our fathers that we propose to vindicate against the sneers, the doubts, and the fears of the world. And we shall do it! We *are* doing it. We are resolved to quell this rebellion in the strength of the law, and by the hand of the government. We will take no radically unconstitutional steps, nor allow the taunts of irresponsible foreigners, nor the incitements of idealists and cosmopolites to drive us into an impatient, unhistoric and unprovidential way of dealing with the original difficulties in our national life. They are great—but so great that God's providence can alone deliver us from them. We will labor, suffer, pray, that they may be wholly eradicated, but we will not be so audacious as to deny our nationality, abandon our history, give up our fathers' and our own antecedents, and seek to become another people and a new nation! No! this very day we are an undivided nation, despite the

armies that confront each other on the Potomac and the Missouri! The love and brotherhood of these States will survive this quarrel. The war was the crisis of a domestic disease that could only thus manifest its virulence and purge away its poison. We must fight it out; unflinchingly, energetically, passionately, unsparingly. We must utterly crush this rebellion; but let us spare the constitution! We must resist the encroachments of slavery and keep it in its own place and sphere; nay, destroy it, if it threatens to destroy us. But let us hope and pray that the country may deal with it as a family weakness and sin, an historic and providential inheritance, with gentleness towards its victims, with consideration for the slave, and with a full consciousness of our partnership in all the wrongs and weaknesses, as in all the hopes and blessings of the nation.

UNCONDITIONAL LOYALTY.

BY

HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D.

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UNCONDITIONAL LOYALTY.

“And the Government shall be upon his shoulder.”—ISAIAH ix. 6.

THIS is a part of the famous passage which sacred literature and the half-inspired music of Handel have rendered so familiar, in its application to the mission of the Messiah. Inseparable as it has now become from Christ's person, its original reference, singular as the language may appear in such a connection, was to an earthly monarch. Isaiah was predicting a king for Israel, who should be competent to free it from all its political and moral perplexities, and he described him in words not then esteemed extravagant or sacrilegious, whatever might be thought of them now. “For unto us a child is born; unto us a Son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end: upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, *to order it*, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even forever.”

It is instructive to bear in mind that this passage is, on Scriptural authority, applicable to human governors and to our Divine Master; that the head of the Church and the head of the State, if not united in the same person, are spoken of in these solemn terms of dignity and responsibility, as if their duties had a similar significance, and their claims a similar, though not equal, importance. It is not, therefore, without reason that nations have used the most hallowed religious sanctions and symbols in consecrating rulers; that they have ascribed a religious sanctity to a King's office, and employed phrases

which, if literally untrue, were yet profoundly suggestive in describing the King as "reigning by divine right," and incapable of doing wrong. We boast ourselves of having got beyond these political superstitions; but if we have got beyond the profound truths they rudely covered, we have passed out of the sphere of safety and lost the anchorage of all civil security. The head of a nation is a sacred person, representing, for the time he holds his office, the most valuable and solemn rights and duties of a people. "The Government" is "upon his shoulder,"—and the Government is the mighty pillar that fastens in order and holds to safety the ten thousand varying interests, rights and obligations of a nation. File at the staple which God fastens to his own throne, in the oaths of office which make a man chief ruler of a people, and you loosen thoughtlessly every link in that chain of law and order, which binds society together. There is something in the Chief Magistrate of a people, infinitely more important than his personal qualities, his judgment, his intelligence, his rectitude. It is *his office*, his representative character, as the National Head. He can truly say with Louis XIV., "The State—it is I. Dishonor me, and you disgrace the nation! Weaken me, and you undermine the country! Speak or think lightly of my oath, my office, my place, and you cheapen yourselves, your institutions, your hopes and prospects." I know the attempted refinements with which a licentious Press, or a thoughtless public, attempt to evade their duty by distinguishing between the man and his office, despising and abusing the one while affecting to honor and respect the other. But practically—in times of revolution or war, especially—there can be no distinction. The office is so much larger than the man, that any abuse directed at him, hits it in spite of the marksman. You cannot rudely assail the personal character or judgment of a Chief Magistrate without weakening public respect for the office he holds. This fact makes it of the utmost importance to select rulers whose characters and qualifications do not invite disrespect. But however carelessly nominated, once elected, they ought to be thenceforth free from the tongue of light criticism or coarse abuse, for their office-sake. I sincerely believe that the free-and-easy tongue of our people in

discussing the personal character and claims of our Chief Magistrates, while in office, during the last twenty years, has contributed greatly to the demoralization of the nation, has cheapened the standard of qualifications for the Presidency, has lowered and loosened the office itself, and is, at this time, perhaps, the chief danger in our public affairs. If, at this moment, we all felt as we ought to feel, that the authority of the President of the United States was a sufficient rallying-cry; that he fully represented both the expressed or constitutional and the reserved rights of the people; that his oath of office was solemnly binding, not only on him, but also on us for whom he took it; that his will, in a time of civil war and universal public danger, was a will having an official right to our reverence and obedience, we should escape the only utterly irremediable danger by which we are threatened. To rally round the President—without question or dispute—is the first and most sacred duty of loyal citizens, when he announces, not that the Constitution merely, but that the National life and existence are in peril. He is the official judge of this—and if we do not accept his testimony, we have nothing to trust to. Remember that his opinions are not personal but official; not matters of individual judgment, or taste, or party; but resultants of the knowledge and counsel and wisdom of his constitutional advisers. That he speaks as the Government, and for the Government, with all the wisdom and capacity the Government has; that this Government *is the only Government we have, or can have, while the present tenure of office holds out*; and that, however much wiser, its successor may be, that will not help us now. The ship of state is held for two years more solely by this anchor. It may go to wreck and ruin if that anchor parts, even though a better one be forging for the next term of office. To waste this sacred season, when the nation is in a struggle of life and death, and the Government is the physician alone responsible for applying the remedies for its recovery—with no possibility of calling in any other until too late—in abusing the competency, or weakening the authority and the means of restoration in the hands of the attending surgeon, is the height of thoughtless folly and the source of infinite danger.

Do not mistake me as undertaking the defence of our present Administration on any party or personal grounds. I am only pleading the sacred cause of Government itself. I regard all party predilections and schemes, at a moment like this, with unutterable sorrow and indignation. The country should have but one thought—the protection of the National life, and the upholding of the constituted authorities, who alone can legitimately wield the power and resources of the nation, to effect our salvation. It is not the policy, but the STRENGTH of the Government that is to save us; nor is it now this General or that, this measure or that, this Cabinet officer or that—who either blocks our way or has power to open it. Our great difficulty is the reluctance of the people to trust the Government with all the moral and political powers it requires, in order to wield the whole force of the nation in defence of its life. I do not wonder at this hesitation; but it is nearly fatal. The people have been so long accustomed to look after their private rights, their personal liberties, their local interests, and have, in a time of peace, acquainted themselves so little with the advantages derived from the National Government—though it has unconsciously all the while been showering blessings on their regardless heads—that they continue in a time of civil war—when a desperate enemy is stabbing at the heart of the nation, the capital, and clutching at the nation's throat, the Mississippi river, and while all the great empires of the world are in ill-concealed sympathy with this domestic foe—discussing questions of sectional and local importance—watching tariffs and bank charters—fighting over petty offices, scowling on necessary measures for incarcerating and arresting traitors, denying a proper legality to the suspension of *habeas corpus*—and threatening to resist any law of conscription, necessary to secure the military force required to make good the place of our retiring levies. At this present hour the President of the United States could not leave the District of Columbia without being liable to arrest and imprisonment in a common jail. And for what? for shutting up in Lafayette, or Fort Henry, men who, before they went there, were spies of the enemy, and more dangerous each of them than a whole regiment in

the field, and who, the moment any clemency visits them, renew their old business and sow dissension and despair at home, and create hope and courage in Richmond! And all this is simply because the honest people of the United States do not yet feel that all the State Governments and all the city and town Governments owe whatever is protecting and beneficent in them, to the overshadowing power and greatness of the Federal or National Government; that terror and suffering does not yet reach them, only because the Federal Government stands bleeding, but strong and resolute, between them and harm; that it is now fighting their battles, protecting their honor and prosperity; doing, suffering, and daring all things for their sake! The people seem to think the President's, or the Government's strength may be impaired and they continue strong; that their local, State, or sectional prosperity, and law and order, here and anywhere, have no vital and necessary connection with the vigor and honor and power of the Federal authority. Alas! what a terrible, and possibly what a fatal mistake! Do you suppose that any body disloyal to the General Government is a friend to his own State? Are you not seeing what that view of local rights, which makes the States jealous enemies of the National Government has brought upon the Southern members of this Union? Have they not all, from being only angry watch-dogs and worriers of the General Government, become open traitors to it? And how far from similar traitors are those who stand now, criticising, sneering at and resisting, as far as they dare, every act of the Federal authorities which looks to vigorous defence of National sovereignty—every measure that puts a thinly-disguised traitor or secessionist under arrest, or seeks to disembarass the hands of the Government, full of immense responsibilities and cares, from the carping interference of local authorities?

These—not the skill and prowess of the enemy, not foreign intervention, not the want of good Generals or good statesmen—are our real perils,—the divisions, the local interference, the partisan jealousies which prevent our whole people from uniting as one man in upholding the Government. The Government has men; has, or can have, money; has clear and recognized

duties ; has, I believe, confidence in its own policy, and power and ability to conquer the enemy ; has none of the despondency and despair about military or naval proceedings—none of the internal strifes and divisions which afflict the people. What then does it want? Nothing but the full consent and approbation of the people—nothing but the united loyalty and confidence of the people, trusting it with all the necessary discretion to carry into execution what it judges to be essential to the very preservation of the National life. These discretionary powers Congress is slow to endorse, and not blamably, because Congress studies and must study the people, their moods, wishes and prejudices, and these moods I do not so much condemn as lament. Why, after twenty months, is no act legalizing the suspension of *habeas corpus* yet passed? I know it is not essential in a legal view, but how necessary for a moral effect. Why have the elections everywhere indicated a desire to invigorate State Governments and private securities and personal rights at such an untimely hour? Why have thoughtless demagogues or selfish politicians seized this moment, when Federal and National interests should rule supreme, to play upon the people's honest prejudices, by alarming them at the alleged inroads on their local and personal liberties? As if the man that broke down his neighbor's fence to procurè a rail to fling to his neighbor's own child struggling in the water, was to be called to account for trespass while the boy was drowning! Yet this is the precise spirit of local and sectional politicians, seeking to make their political fortunes out of the National distress, as many wretched traders are doing out of the National treasury. It is not one party, or another that is doing this, but many in all. Thousands who helped to put the President in office, are among these local and un-national destroyers of the country's life—assailing the Government they made, because circumstances have not allowed it to carry out a programme made for peace, and not for civil war.

I repeat—for it is necessary—that I am very well aware of the specious grounds on which those who choose to assail the Government, at a time like this, rest their disloyal behavior. They make the very plea the rebels made when they attempted to

burn down the national temple—a violated Constitution. They are great sticklers for the letter of the Constitution. They remind one of the enemies of our Saviour, who were always flinging in his blessed face the authority of the Mosaic law. He could save no life on the Sabbath-day, because the Mosaic Constitution forbade it! He could pluck no corn for his starving disciples, because the Mosaic Constitution made no provision for that! He could protect and shelter no penitent sinner, because the Mosaic Constitution condemned her to be stoned to death! He could break no yoke of moral and spiritual ignorance any where, because the Mosaic Constitution was thus endangered! In short, the Pharisees and Scribes and learned and acute doctors of the law, blocked the just starting chariot-wheels of the Gospel at every foot of its progress, with some quotation or warning out of the Jewish Constitution! And what would the Saviour of the world have been able to accomplish, if he had not firmly and boldly taken the ground, “The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive!” If the Constitution of this country were what the enemies of the Government make it out—the rebels’ best argument, the slave’s worst enemy; the soldier’s greatest hindrance, the citizen’s darkest foe,—if semi-rebels at home could justly find their chief arguments and protection in it, the sooner it were abandoned the better. But it is no such thing! The friends, the true friends of the Constitution, are those who love its spirit too well to allow a few specks in its body to become the ruin of its soul. They treat it as a parent treats his child, who, to save his life, suffers the surgeon to cut off a gangrenous finger or toe. If the Constitution of the United States were designed or fitted to obstruct the progress of public enlightenment, national ethics, and Christian civilization, it would become the curse of the nation. There is not a national charter in all history that has ever been permitted to do this. And is the Constitution of a free, democratic nation to be more wooden and incapable of enlightened moral interpretation than the law of the British Crown, or the French or Prussian Empires? It is absurd on the face of it. Because some of our fathers believed in cruel punishments, in the selling of even white apprentices into Slavery, in national lotteries, and in other, now uni-

versally condemned immoralities, are we tied to their errors and blindness, by reverence for their services? Is the letter of the law to over-ride its spirit, and that, too, in dealing with rebels and traitors who are openly seeking to destroy our national existence? I yield to no man in reverence for law and order; nay, in respect even for the law's delays, and all the various checks and balances by which constitutional government is secured. I believe in the immense importance of the proper distribution and segregation of the legislative, judicial, administrative and executive functions of this Government. No man can tell me any thing I do not now feel of the value of method, order, precedent, rule, in political life! But there are times when all these things must be subordinated to the primal question of self-preservation. Has a nation less than the rights of an individual? May it not, must it not defend its own existence at all hazards? Can any laws, or charter, or constitution mean to rob it of the rights of self-preservation? Is the Constitution really violated when, under such a necessity, the powers of the President are stretched beyond the ordinary reach of his office? I say the Constitution is preserved, as a life is saved, by despising ordinary precautions and rules. The Spanish law forbids a subject from laying hands, on any pretence, on an Infanta of Spain, under penalty of instant death. Did, then, the peasant who rushed into the palace and extinguished the flames that enveloped a royal princess, deserve to die? Did he break the law? Yes, in the letter. No, in the spirit. And would he not have deserved to die a thousand deaths if he had regarded the letter of the law, when his liege lady was in instant peril of her life? It is such fictitious violations of the Constitution as this, that Northern sympathizers with the rebellion are now seeking to make grounds of accusation against the true friends of the Nation, and the protectors of its life—such violations as the incarceration of spies, of correspondents with the rebel government; inciters of revolt in border cities; editors of rebel newspapers under some thin disguise; insolent slave-drivers on the now free soil of the District of Columbia; of men seeking to sow divisions and disloyalty in the army itself; to prevent the raising of fresh levies; to weaken and

bring into contempt the lawful power of the country. When it became necessary to reinforce Fort Taylor, a high military authority is said to have declared, that unless the act of *habeas corpus* were suspended in the section of the State where the fort now lies, every National soldier could be arrested by the rebels, under civil process, and the power of the National Government be put at absolute defiance. But it was by some thought unconstitutional to suspend this act. Then it must be unconstitutional to uphold the Constitution, to oppose secession, or to put down rebellion. Let it be deemed unconstitutional, then, by those who hate Union and liberty ; it was none the less necessary—absolutely and unconditionally necessary—and the President, doubtless with some such view, signed the order for it with a full sense of his constitutional responsibility. But he is not yet justified in that act, or in any similar acts, by the opposition. Would God, would America, would the Future, should we, justify him, if, higgling on the point, he had sacrificed the national spirit, honor, life and hopes to the weak and empty scruples of others about the letter of the law ? He would indeed have been a coward and a traitor to his country, if he had shrunk from that holy duty, of setting the law of national self-preservation above every other consideration, at that critical moment. Remember that the value of a living ruler is that he is alive, and can accommodate action to circumstances. We might as well have presiding over this nation a Maelzel automaton, or Babbage's Calculator, wound up by the Constitution to strike certain foregone conclusions, as to have a living representative of the people—a man whose heart, conscience and will have their legitimate place in interpreting and applying the written law to the nation's exigencies—if these feeble notions of the absolute preëminence in a civil war of every doubt or silence or uncertainty in a Constitution made for peace, are to prevail over the necessities of immediate and decisive action.

But, after all, no plea is so specious and so dangerous among all those under which disloyalty seeks to conceal its fangs, as that which attempts to distinguish between the Administration and the Government. It is perfectly respectful to the Govern-

ment, for which it is ready to give life and treasure ; but the Administration is imbecile, is false, is destroying the liberties of the nation ; is without wisdom, or honesty, or success ! It is to be assailed, despised, resisted, and in every way obstructed, and this is all in the way of sound citizenship and in the exercise of inalienable rights—in the character of true and loyal Americans ! It is very like the plea of men who respect the marital relation, but have no allegiance to the wife of their bosom ; or of those who advocate honesty as a general principle, but make an exception in dealing with their own creditors ! Practically, everybody knows that the President is, for two years or more to come, the sole lawful head of this Nation, and his Cabinet, men of his own choice, the arbiters of our national fate. Practically, what these men do or fail to do, through our furtherance or hindrance, settles the fate of this people for a generation, perhaps for ages to come. Practically, their support, encouragement and invigoration, is *the only possible method* of putting forth our National strength and ability. Practically, to bring them into suspicion, contempt and distrust, is the greatest injury and peril our cause can suffer ! Practically, the rebel Congress can have no allies more worthy encouragement and pecuniary support, than the men here who attempt to weaken the confidence of the nation in their sole executive representatives ; to bring the high officers of the Government into disrespect and contempt ; to make foreign Powers think us led by pigmies, governed by imbeciles, counseled by knaves, divided among ourselves, and on the verge of despair ; our successes cheap, our prospects cloudy, our resources belittled, our zeal and determination dimmed and dwindled, our national will broken ; our Government despised, sneered at and distrusted by its own children. Nor, alas ! is this wretched policy wholly confined to traitors. Loyal and honest men, in the pride of opinion, unwittingly perform the traitor's work. Faithless, impatient, superficial, mere partisans, or mere pettifoggers, or mere sectionalists, or mere mediocrities, they assail the Administration because the Administration does not take their advice, see things their way, jump to their conclusions, adopt their "isms," swallow their panacea, or force it down the throat of the country.

I was lately very much struck by the remark of an honest New England radical Abolitionist, who stated to me with an evident expectation that I should receive it as a proof of the President's total lack of intelligence, that a Committee of the leading representatives of his sect had just waited on the President, and had three hours of conversation with him ; and that they had no evidence that they had produced the least effect on his mind ! As they were all very excellent and eloquent gentlemen, of their school, I confess I felt a new increase of respect for the President's firmness and many-sided wisdom ! I have too often had my own hasty views and wishes opposed and thwarted by the Administration and high officers, not to have learned that it does not prove them to be wrong that they do not uniformly agree with even their honest and earnest advisers ! And, taking advantage of whatever name for frankness and simplicity, in speaking the unqualified convictions of my own mind, I may here enjoy, I solemnly declare in the interests of the nation and cause, that, with more than ordinary opportunities of seeing and practically co-working with the Government, every month of study of our Administration has given me a greater estimate of its integrity, ability and fitness to meet the crisis ; a higher respect for the President ; a deeper persuasion that faith and confidence in him would be repaid by full success in our cause. I believe that the very common opinion that intestine quarrels rend the Cabinet ; that no harmony of views or purposes prevails ; that the high officers distrust, and are jealous of each other ; that they are chiefly animated by political ambition, or are sacrificing the country to their own self-seeking objects, is a most entire and a most pernicious mistake ; that the differences among them are honest and healthy differences, not touching vital points, and that their perplexities spring not from their own divisions, but from ours ; their lack of sharpness of policy to the blunted, because widely-extended, interests and wishes of a greatly scattered people. I believe no set of men ever lived, that were more idly, hastily and ignorantly judged and abused, than our existing Administration ; that they need only to be closely and personally known to be wholly respected ; and that any general disaffection or distrust is

caused wholly by the poisonous malaria sent up from the marshes of public prejudice, from the foul-mouthed calumnies of a portion of the public press, or the idle gossip of thoughtless story-tellers. When I think of the extent to which the falsest calumnies can go, without one particle of truth to travel on—things I personally know to be not only untrue, but the precise reverse of truth—I am in despair of correcting public prejudice. To take an illustration, below that of a Cabinet officer, whom I will not criticise—no man in the whole country, for instance, has suffered greater wrongs, from the causes alleged, than General McDowell—a wise and good man, a patriot and brave soldier, simply unfortunate, but despised and hated as a traitor and a drunkard by millions, many of whom are not worthy to loose his shoe-latchet. This man, who has been styled a drunkard, on the most incontestible evidence, by men and women of the highest character, in my presence, I positively know never so much as touches a drop of intoxicating drink—is a total abstinent, and always has been so! And I believe there are generals and Cabinet officers now under suspicion of drunkenness and opium-eating, and fraud and falsehood—on testimony that would hang a man in many courts—who are as innocent of each and every one of these charges as the purest man in this assembly.

It is a reckless way of discussing the personal character of public men, in the press and in popular assemblies, that has led to this atrocious depreciation of men, whose characters and reputation ought at this time to be under the shield of every patriotic citizen's allegiance and gratitude. I am persuaded that it is a sacred duty to urge this point everywhere; and I rejoice, that in the best faith in the world, I am able to begin a reform in this direction, at least in my own small sphere. I have from the beginning thought it my duty everywhere to support the Government and to support the Administration as the practical representative of the Government. I think it your duty, your religious duty—the duty of every loyal citizen, and that no duty is so urgent and imperative at this moment, as to restore a well-deserved confidence to our President and his advisers. If they did not merit it in their personal character and talents, I should still claim that they deserved it in their

official position! But I verily believe they merit it in their own persons, and only the more where they do not represent the partisan wishes of those of us who elected them. They came in a party-administration. Civil war has converted them into National patriots. The lightning of God has touched them, and rendered them sacred. Yes! Can we measure their trials, anxieties and difficulties—the necessary sorrows and cares of their vast and complicated responsibility—and be willing to add to their burdens the needless grief of misinterpretation, slander, gossiping criticism and personal abuse? A more ungrateful public was never known than that which could willingly assail the personal character of these slaves and conscripts of our public necessities—the present Government of the country! Let us reform our ways altogether; begin a new style of speech about our public men in office. Let us support, encourage, cheer and trust the Government. It is all they need to carry us triumphantly through.

Thus, brethren, do I commend to you the cause of unconditional loyalty. I have pleaded it as a son pleading for a parent's life! Would to God that none needed this earnest pleading more than you do. I know your hearts, and how warmly and cordially as a congregation you approve and practice upon these principles. I make you, then, the missionaries of them, wherever you go, and with whomsoever you are conversant. Let our women and children become the propagandists of unconditional loyalty. The country needs not only the fealty of her sons, but of her daughters also. Sing the songs of patriotic devotion at your hearth-stones. Let your country have your earliest and your latest prayers. Frown on every syllable of distrust, of wavering, of disrespect, that pollutes the air you breathe. Require of all your friends to be first the friends of the nation! Have nobody's love that does not love the country more! Make a religion of patriotism. Let not the devotion of rebel fathers and mothers, of rebel sons and daughters, shame your lukewarmness, your selfishness, your coward fears. If error and treason can find such willing, uncomplaining martyrs and propagandists, what ought liberty, union, and lawful government to have? It is this holy spirit of devotion on the part of the

whole people, this jealous patriotism, this unconditional loyalty that can alone save the land. Let it not be your fault if from this hour it does not prevail in every home, in every heart, in every place of business, in every church throughout this nation—struggling, as it is, for the most sacred and valuable rights of our common humanity, a lawful Government, and the right of Christianity and civilization to triumph over barbarism and Slavery.

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
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